1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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ngadang or *mĕgadang*, meaning 'to guard', 'to spend the night guarding'. It is said that in earlier times, when the journey was still made on foot, people from Bratan *en route* to Pĕtĕmon and to Jĕmbrana never failed to pay homage at the sea temple and to make offerings on passing Labuhan Haji. (All but a few of the inhabitants of Bratan belong to the genealogical group of *pandes*, descendants of the traditional metalsmiths who are now scattered throughout Bali. A few decades ago a number of people from Bratan settled in newly opened territory in the west, especially in Pĕtĕmon and Jĕmbrana, and frequent contacts with the village of origin are still maintained.) It was also customary that on returning home safely to Bratan a traveller erected a *sanggah charukchuk* in his compound, and from there invoked the deity at Labuhan Haji. On this occasion interest was concentrated exclusively on Jĕro Nyoman Pĕngadangan, whose attention was attracted with the exclamation *ku-uk*. One of the offerings required for this *jĕro nyoman* was opium, together with a whole set of opium smoker's equipment. (This prescription is less expensive in its consequences than it might seem, since the opium and the accompanying utensils can be asked back after the ceremonial has been completed.)

The significance of the word *haji* in the name Labuhan Haji is not certain. It is not very probable that it actually has to do with someone who made the pilgrimage to Mecca, though there are many Moslems living in the hamlet at the present time. Possibly there is an association with the fact that on Java the realm of Majapahit was succeeded by an Islamic political order. It might also be a reference to the Balinese word *aji*, which means 'ruler' or 'father', and is frequently used in the title of address for *pĕdandas*. It may be that in this connection a tie must be sought with priestly figures such as Pĕdanda Dwijendra, who according to tradition brought the culture of Majapahit to Bali. There are a number of links between Dwijendra and western Buleleng, where the wise man lost his eldest daughter, Swabawa, at Pulaki.

In the *desa* of Bratan one of the village functionaries is called the *pasĕk haji*, without its being apparent what the actual meaning of

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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superior. It would seem that a great deal of the "carefulness" in the manner of the Balinese springs from his habit of adjusting his position according to the laws of his cosmology and his social group. The other great factor is the habitual avoidance of any impulsive movement which could shock or otherwise momentarily disturb the feeling of well-being in the body.

The individual Balinese moves slowly, with deliberation. Westerners, seeing for the first time films representing the Balinese at their daily tasks, are immediately struck by the slow tempo of their actions. If a man seated in one pavilion of his house-court suddenly wishes to show something which is in another pavilion, he will rise to his feet and saunter across the intervening space, quite as if he were going for a casual stroll. He will never hurry, as we would, eager to grasp the object which has come to mind. There is plenty of time, and to hurry would be unusual, unnecessary, and stupid—a waste of energy. Walking along the roads, each individual progresses with an even, measured step. The custom is to walk in single file, probably because the trails are narrow, and even today when the gravel covered motor roads are used for long distance walking, there is only a narrow track at the side which is comfortable to bare feet. Rarely does one individual walking in the single file pass another, for all go at the same rhythmic pace. This pace seems to be kept over long distances as well as short, and is hardly influenced when the walker carries a medium load (about forty pounds). Women carry such a load with facility, balanced on their heads. Men usually carry much heavier weights, divided in two parcels, one of which is slung at either end of a bamboo pole balanced on the shoulder. Invariably when the load is heavy (a hundred pounds or so) the man with the shoulder bar proceeds at a short run, almost a trot, and he keeps up this pace without ever slowing down to a walk. The idea is not to get there more quickly; but the motion of the trot vibrates the pliant shoulder-bar, so that the weights at either end swing up and down, thus relieving the pressure on the shoulder. This pace however has become customary to people heavily laden, and a woman bearing on her head one of the large offerings of rice, fruit, and cakes (often a cone four or five feet high) will proceed with the same accelerated steps that the men use under their heavy shoulder-bars.

A test of the evenness of the habitual pace, kept up over long distances, came on the occasion of an annual ceremony at a temple on the southernmost shore. A Balinese whose house stood next to

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five